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Our No. 1 Pollution Problem Is Pollution of the Mind

There is a kind of madness in the facile assumption that we can raise the many billions of dollars necessary to rebuild our schools and cities and public transport and eliminate the pollution of air and water while also spending tens of billions to finance an "open ended" war in Asia, but even if the material resources can somehow be drawn from an expanding economy I do not think that the spiritual resources will be forthcoming from an angry and disappointed people. Wars breed war fever; when a nation is involved in a bitter foreign conflict, hopes give way to fears and creative and generous attitudes give way to a false and strident patriotism. That, I believe, is what is happening in America today.

—Sen. Fulbright at the Univ. of Conn., March 22

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The Un-Intelligence of U.S. Intelligence in Vietnam

Several important conclusions can be drawn from the new political crisis in South Vietnam. The first is that our intelligence agencies continue to be poorly informed. The same kind of wishful thinking appears which proved so disastrous all through the Diem period and since. Only a few weeks after the prestige of the American Presidency was linked with that of Ky, the stability of his regime turns out to be shaky. One way to see how illusion-prone our government remains is to look back at the following tribute to a Vietnamese leader:

He is only —— years old. He has had little political experience, but despite these handicaps he brings an active, imaginative, energetic personality to the position of head of state. He has already instituted a number of reforms. He has laid out a national mobilization plan. He is taking his story to the people. He recognizes that the defeat of the Vietcong in the long run depends on political and economic action.

The words are indistinguishable from those used about Ky since Honolulu. Actually they were applied by Secretary McNamara just two years ago to General Khanh in a House Appropriations Committee hearing (March 24, 1964), when McNamara told the Congressmen, "Investigation on the scene, including consultation with all of the leading U.S. representatives on the spot, military and civilian, convinced us that General Khanh does have general support." A few months later, despite all those barn-storming pictures showing Khanh and McNamara with linked hands held high in the air before groups of peasants obviously puzzled by their antics, Khanh was overthrown,* and has since vanished without a trace from his country's politics.

The Inside Dope They Share

To paraphrase the Secretary, investigation convinces us that the leading U.S. representatives on the spot, military and civilian, didn't know what was going on then and don't know what is going on now. They seem to have as little comprehension of what ordinary Vietnamese are thinking as any other-worldly passengers on those Unidentified Flying Objects over Ann Arbor the other day may have had of Soapy Williams' chances of making the U.S. Senate. To check back on the dispatches when General Thi was ousted makes one feel that our little joke is, if anything, unfair to the Martians. Ward Just reported from Saigon to the *Washington Post* March 12 that he had been "authoritatively" told the U.S. Embassy was informed in advance of Ky's move against Thi, and "the American reaction" was favorable because our men in Saigon thought the dismissal would "inevitably give the government more confidence and authority." Charles Mohr also reported to the *New York Times* March 11, "U.S. offi-

(Continued on Page Four)

More Pentagon Fakery

Last Jan. 5 the head of the U.S. medical aid program in Vietnam told a press conference in Washington that the war was causing more casualties to civilians than to the military (Wash. Star, Jan. 6). All through the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings, Senator Pell and Chairman Fulbright sought in vain to get some estimate from State or Pentagon of civilians killed. Then on March 17, Rep. Zablocki (D., Wis) of House Foreign Affairs made public a report on a visit to Vietnam in February in which he said something should be done about "the high level of civilian casualties." He said that "some recent search and destroy operations have resulted in six civilian casualties to one Vietcong." He estimated it was "likely" that two civilians were being killed for every Vietcong. Next day the Pentagon released a letter from Assistant Secretary of Defense John T. McNaughton to Chairman Fulbright claiming that only 109 civilians had been killed and 170 injured in the seven months from last Aug. 1 to March 1! These figures are preposterously low. According to Zablocki's estimate, 14,000 civilians were killed in January and February. McNaughton listed only 6 killed in those two months and claimed that this showed our forces were using their firepower "with increasingly greater accuracy and discrimination." But the Washington Star (Aug.19) gave the game away when it reported that these figures "apparently are based on claims for civilian damages filed with the Vietnamese government. No other overall records of civilian casualties exist. . . ." Too few Vietnamese know where Saigon is, much less that they can file claims for deaths from our bombers.

***For this delicious tidbit we cheerfully acknowledge our indebtedness to the Secretary himself. We found it among 30 pages of past statements he inserted in this year's Senate appropriations hearings on the Vietnamese supplemental budget to prove he has not been as unreliable on Vietnam as his critics claim. We suggest the IBM computer which supplied the quotes be rechecked for security.**

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The Real Treason of the Intellectuals Who Pander for A Quick and Easy Buck

The Flood of Pornography Threatens Respect for the First Amendment

What we find offensive in the obscenity cases is the posturing of Ralph Ginzburg, one of the main defendants. "America is no longer a peace-loving country," Ginzburg told the press after the Supreme Court upheld his conviction, "but it is also no longer a liberty-loving country." This effort to cloak himself in the mantle of Thomas Jefferson, and at the same time grab onto the coat-tails of the peace movement, was characteristic of a young man who seems to come straight out of *What Makes Sammy Run.* The evidence at the trial showed how far he would go for a dubious dollar. Originally he tried to mail his publications from two tiny rural postoffices in Pennsylvania, one called Intercourse and the other Blue Balls, in order to exploit the off-color suggestion in their postmarks. Since neither was large enough to handle the anticipated volume of mail, his application was denied and he had to settle for Middlesex [get it?], N.J. A publisher who spent so much effort on such adolescent outhouse leers was engaged in a pretty tasteless operation. This bore as much relation to what Jefferson meant by freedom of the press as running a bawdy house does to freedom of assembly.

Too Much for Nine Old Men

But since Ginzburg's operations were in *print,* they raised difficult constitutional questions. The difficulty is attested by the fact that the Court wrote 14 separate opinions in the three cases. It is hard enough to find wholly objective standards in answering most constitutional questions. That of obscenity is particularly subjective. The prurient may find titillation in the Bible, the unabridged dictionary and the advertising pages of the *Ladies Home Journal.* There is comedy in the spectacle of nine elderly gentlemen on our highest court debating the permissible in smutty literature. That most Olympian of all the Justices, Oliver Wendell Holmes, was fond of an occasional visit to a burlesque show. What if he had been caught in an overzealous police raid?

On the one hand, the attitude toward sex is cleaner and freer in our time. Many influences, from Walt Whitman to Freud, have had a liberating effect. A purer paganism has replaced the morbid sense of sin that comes down from St. Paul. It is important to keep the avenues open for serious writing about so fundamental and pleasurable an aspect of life as sex. On the other hand, the news stands display an appalling flood of paper-back pornography, exploiting all kinds of psychopathic perversities. What the effect may be on immature minds no one really knows. Is it possible to preserve freedom for serious literature while doing something about these obscenities? This was the real question before the Court. Its answer was to lean over backward where there was any semblance of literary value, as in *Fanny Hill,* but upholding convictions in the Mishkin and Ginzburg cases where the evidence showed no motive other than pandering.

We're not going into the wisdom of the new line drawn by the court. But we are concerned with the moral responsibility of the writing and publishing trade. The respectable names and houses do plenty of pandering on their own. All this risks a popular revulsion, among the plain people of this country, of a kind on which Fascist movements have fed in the past. How maintain respect for the First Amendment and the Court if they are associated in the public mind with protection of pornography? I hate to see their moral capital squandered. Those who know better, like Ginzburg, are guilty of something worse than pornography. They are guilty of treason to a precious heritage.

No Free Speech for Cassius Clay

Cassius Clay's reaction to becoming eligible for the draft was characteristically candid: "I've got nothing against them Viet Congs," he said. We suspect he voiced the sentiment of most Negroes. But boxing commissioners and promoters and several veterans groups found the remark "unpatriotic" and "disgusting." Clay's title bout, scheduled for Chicago March 29 was called off. New York, Pittsburgh, Louisville, Maine, Montreal and Verdun (Can.) also turned down the fight. Finally, it was rescheduled for Toronto (with Clay facing a new, inferior opponent). In the meantime, sponsors of the radio broadcast and most of the theatres which had arranged to carry the fight on closed circuit TV, cancelled their contracts. The American Legion announced it would picket the few remaining theaters. Clay was even denounced on the floor of the House (March 15) by Rep. Frank Clark (D., Pa). Clay may never serve in Vietnam, but in a way he is already one of the war's casualties. *—P.O.*

De Mille's Ten Commandments and High Church Services Can Also Spark Crime

"Director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, has repeatedly emphasized that pornography is associated with an overwhelmingly large number of sex crimes. . . . Cardinal Spellman particularly stressed the direct influence obscenity has on immature persons."

—Mr. Justice Clark dissenting in the Fanny Hill case

"As I read the First Amendment, judges cannot gear the literary diet of an entire nation to whatever tepid stuff is incapable of triggering the most demented mind. The First Amendment demands more than a horrible example or two of the perpetrator of a crime of sexual violence, in whose pocket is found a pornographic book before it allows the Nation to be saddled with a regime of censorship."*

—Mr. Justice Douglas concurring in Fanny Hill

* ". . . it is impossible to define 'hard-core' pornography as if there were some singly lewd concept from which all profane ideas passed by imperceptible degrees into that sexuality called holy. . . . Every idea is capable of being obscene. . . . Heinrich Pommerenke, who was a rapist, abuser and mass slayer of women in Germany, was prompted to his series of ghastly deeds by Cecil B. de Mille's *The Ten Commandments.* During the scene of the Jewish women dancing about the Golden Calf, all the doubts of his life came clear: Women were the source of the world's troubles and it was his mission to punish them. . . . John George Haigh, the British vampire who sucked his victim's blood through soda straws . . . first had his . . . vampire-longings from watching the 'voluptuous' procedure—of an Anglican High Church Service!"

—Murphy, The Value of Pornography, 10 Wayne Law Review 655, cited by Mr. Justice Douglas.

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The Unspoken Warning from the Inter-American Bank At The Alliance's Half-Way Point

The Lag in Latin Land Reform and Food Output May Breed New "Vietnams"

New "Vietnams" are brewing in Latin America where the failure to achieve significant social reform can bring demands for U.S. intervention to put down revolutions. The Alliance for Progress was intended to avert this by encouraging social reform. But the Johnson Administration, with the support of Senators like Javits, is shifting emphasis to the encouragement of U.S. and European private investment. This means skimming off easy profits at the expense of popular welfare, and the familiar alliance between the investor and the backward native ruling classes supported by American military power. That way lies trouble. Here are excerpts from the fifth annual report of the Inter-American Development Bank which shows the poor agrarian record of the Alliance for Progress in its first 5 years. —I.F.S.

Farm production as a whole continues to develop at an unsatisfactory rate . . . an average annual increase of only 1.6% over the past five years [since the Alliance for Progress began—IFS] as compared to an average annual increase of 3.6% during the first half of the past decade . . . most of the increase in production recorded in recent years has been accounted for by commercial export crops such as sugar, bananas and cotton . . . per capita domestic output of nutritionally important products such as meat, milk and eggs seem to have actually declined. . . .

Little Change Where Most Needed

Low incomes and oppressive social conditions continue to prevail in the countryside As, in general, very little change has taken place in the distribution of land and in social stratification, rural incomes continue to be extremely maldistributed. In Chile, for example, the upper 1% of the agricultural families receives one-fourth of the total farm income, while the bottom 87% of the farm labor force received only one-third of the total income. . . .

By 1965 most of the Latin American countries had some sort of agrarian reform laws to permit the carrying out of substantial reform programs. No more new laws were passed during the year. Yet, in a number of countries considerable legislative activity was underway to modify and interpret existing laws. The major exception was Chile, where the new government, pledged to a vigorous land reform platform, had decided to send a completely new law to its Congress . . . (which) would permit a basic transformation of the Chilean agrarian structure. . . . Water resources would be nationalized and use of water (for irrigation) would henceforth be strictly controlled in the public interest. . . .

Unfortunately in too many countries the national institutions concerned with agrarian reform remain largely concerned with political, legal and administrative matters, while the technical work is being carried on by traditional agencies not geared to deal with problems of poor farmers. . . . In addition, with few exceptions such as Venezuela, the budgets of land reform agencies are still inadequate even for minimum programs. . . .

There has been very little actual land redistribution during the last four years. Almost no change has occurred in the pattern of concentration of land ownership . . . three countries that have made the most progress are those whose agrarian reform efforts extends over a longer period of time [and, the Bank fails to add, two have had revolutionary land reforms]. Thus the reform programs of Mexico, Bolivia and Venezuela, have all entered into a phase of consolidation. . . . In the rest of the countries, where the need for structural change is greatest, land redistribution is still a marginal rather than a central feature of agrarian policies.

Bertrand Russell on Soviet Jewry

In 1948 Stalin and his secret police executed the Jewish creative intelligentsia and totally destroyed Jewish institutions, publishing houses, schools and theatres and every vestige of national existence outside the synagogues. Destalinization has brought little improvement. Jews still have no schools, no national theatres and no secular communal institutions. Although restitution was frequently promised in 1956 and 1957, only token symbols of culture have been permitted—a handful of books in the Yiddish language published in small editions and exploited as reassuring propaganda abroad; one monthly Yiddish magazine; one or two amateur dramatic groups. . . . Discrimination against Jews in the USSR, like the persecution of dissident intellectuals, seriously impairs the development of the Soviet Union as a true Socialist society.

—Message from Lord Russell read at a hearing in New York March 19 on the status of Soviet Jewry.

What the U.S. Could Do About Apartheid in South Africa If It Wanted To

The U.S. has a divided mind in its policy toward South Africa. On the one hand eloquent condemnatory statements are made about apartheid. On the other hand it is pointed out that South African ports are highly useful to the U.S. Navy, that the tracking station facilities are important, that American business provides a useful channel of communication with South African circles.

It is not true to maintain that the U.S. can't do anything about apartheid. Rather, the will to do something effective is lacking. If a battle comes in South Africa, which side will the U.S. be on? With the independence of Bechuanaland, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, attacks may well come from the borders as well as inside. Will the U.S. take the view that South Africa is a bulwark against Communism in Africa? That the rebels in South Africa are under Communist domination?

The U.S. can make clear an anti-apartheid policy by moving rapidly toward disengagement, where there is greatest involvement: in the economic sphere. U.S. oil companies have almost 50% of South African refining capacity; U.S. motor companies produce almost 60% of all vehicles; U.S. rubber companies dominate production with Dunlop, a British company; an American controls 15% of South African gold.

To implement a policy of disengagement we suggest: 1st, let the government call leading businessmen involved in South African trade and investment together and ask compliance with a government policy of disengagement. Some would comply, some would not, but at least a policy would be set. Second, the bulk of U.S. exports to South Africa would be placed under the Export Control Act. Third, legislation would be passed forbidding U.S. firms abroad to practice racial discrimination.

—George Houser, executive director of the U.S. Committee on Africa, and editor of Africa Today, *abridged from testimony March 15 before a House subcommittee.*

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What We Fear More Than Communism in South Vietnam

(Continued from Page One)

cials believe that his [Thi's] ouster is "a step toward political stability." There was speculation, Mohr wrote, that Thi's dismissal might set off political agitation but "well-informed sources discounted these possibilities" saying that "Marshal Ky and the other officers had made careful soundings and had concluded that General Thi's political strength was greatly overrated." It seems that now, as in the days of Diem, our intelligence men and South Vietnam's smoke each other's marijuana in blissful confraternity.

So Soon After Honolulu

Sometimes one wonders what strabismic sights our sleuths see when they look down from their air-conditioned flying saucers on South Vietnam. "According to informed sources," said the *New York Times* Sunday Review of the News March 20, after nine days of dangerous political turmoil in the wake of Thi's ouster, "the American mission in South Vietnam, though it did not instigate Marshal Ky's action, approved of it wholeheartedly as a step against 'warlordism'." It turned out that of all the warlords on the Military Council, which has been ruling South Vietnam with the playboy Air Marshal Ky as its figurehead, the one least a warlord was Thi, the only one who had risked his life in an effort to overthrow the despotic Diem regime, the only one who was popular in the military zone he ruled, the only one who had allowed students and Buddhists some measure of political freedom. Significantly the charges against General Thi have never been made public. It was said, according to the Mohr dispatch just quoted, that he refused to execute "Government orders on subjects ranging from refugee administration to rural pacification." Since the Ky regime's record on both has been notoriously bad, it would be interesting to know Thi's side of the story. It looks as if, only a few short weeks after all those glamorous promises at Honolulu, we connived in the removal of the only General with some understanding of popular aspiration.

Now the President is sending an ex-CIA man, Robert W. Komer (*Baltimore Sun*, March 23) who was on McGeorge Bundy's staff, to push our reconstruction program in South Vietnam. For all we know Komer may be a democrat of deepest die, but we're keeping our fingers crossed because the CIA in the past has not proven the best school for understanding popular aspiration. Robert Guillain in four brilliant articles written for *Le Monde* (March 12-17), before the popular outburst provoked by Thi's dismissal, has summed up the situation as a "gangrene" which is eating away all semblance of popular and national support and leaving this, nakedly, a war to impose our will. Elected institutions have been the principal demand of the pro-Thi rallies. Even the Catholic minority on which our policy has relied since the days of Diem is now split and growing hostile. Though our agencies look with suspicious eye on the Buddhists, their theme is nothing more subversive than "legal institutions, including an elected parliament." (Walter Friedenberg from Saigon, *Wash. Daily News* March 20.) Or is that the most subversive demand of all? Sometimes it looks as if we fear even more than Communism that dangerous unsettling idea "d ——— y."

Like The Kaiser's Germany

Our national vocabulary has changed with our policies. A few years ago—even some months ago—we were talking of detente and building bridges, of five year plans in India and Pakistan, of agricultural cooperatives in the Dominican Republic and land and tax reform all over Latin America. Today these subjects have an antique ring. Instead of emphasizing plans for social change, the policy planners and political scientists are conjuring up "scenarios" of escalation and nuclear confrontation and "models" of insurgency and counterinsurgency; in Latin America they seem more interested in testing the 'images' of armies than in the progress of social reform. Commenting last October on the reaction to those who opposed the war in Vietnam, a European observer wrote: "The airy contempt with which many of the unofficial defenders of official policy nowadays treat such 'sentimental' considerations as international law, neutral opinion, or even the wishes of the unfortunate people of Vietnam, is indeed something new in responsible American circles; to one European who has just spent a year in the United States, it sounded ominously similar to the notorious 'Realpolitik' of Imperial Germany, while the protestors seem to embody the American democratic tradition."

—Sen. Fulbright at the Univ. of Conn., March 22

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